

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

shop sells a few imported goods, some tailors also sell ready 441
made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops
have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the
trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those
that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in
stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods in-
clude such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric
torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent,
aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and
fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products,
mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, be-
fore the war, from Japan.

Paper images are made to be burned in the funeral pro- [764]
cession and are not usually kept in stock, being made to
order when required. The restaurants and tea houses, very [265]
numerous as they are, can be divided into those that provide
full meals and those which only sell tea and light refresh-
ments such as sweetmeats. Tobacconists, usually very small [291]
shops, also sell locally made coarse soap, matches, string,
and straw sandals, the latter article being in constant de-
mand as they are worn by all peasants and muleteers and do
not last very long. Wine and salt shops sell these com- [275]
modities under license, as wine is taxed and salt is a govern- [263]
ment monopoly. They also sell pepper and some articles of
food such as scones and sweetmeats.

The large number of hatters and shoemakers is explained 438
by the fact that Ta Li is a centre for the manufacture of these 443
articles which are sent to other towns in western Yunnan
and to the local markets and country fairs. These are the
only industries which cater for a wider market than the
immediate locality of Ta Li itself. With the exception of a
few lines of foreign goods sold by the mixed goods shops all
the articles for sale are either made locally or imported from
other parts of China. Thus the silks come from Shanghai and

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The easy communication with the fair ground by way of [505] junks on the lake make this fair a great centre for the sale of 443 heavy and bulky goods. Coffin boards, brought from the 438 walnut forests on the Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain on the east 764 side of the lake, have a ready sale. The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are accustomed to buy the wood and have their coffins made up in readiness for their own death when they have reached a ripe age. This, which seems rather macabre to the European, is not so regarded in China. It is looked upon as a prudent measure of insurance, no more morbid than membership of a Burial Assurance Society would be in Europe. The Min Chia are at one with the Chinese in paying a great deal of attention and spending a lot of money on funerals, tombs, and the other apparatus of decease, and consequently the coffin trade uses only the best hard woods, walnut for choice.

Ta Li hard granite cut into millstones, or in slabs which 324 can be joined up to make a water tank, is also brought to the 443 Yu Tan Hui by the ship load, for there is no such suitable 438 stone in the northern and eastern districts whence many of those attending the fair come. Grindstones from further south, and of course, white Ta Li marble tombstones also have a large sale. All these goods are brought by boat, and 505 many of the visitors from the lake side villages and towns 443 and from Ta Li itself come to this fair by boat. In the 438 summer, when there may be rain, and the roads are still boggy it is far more comfortable to travel by the lake boats, protected from the rain if it comes by the mat cabin top, or from the sun by the shadow of the towering mat sail. On the day before the fair opens the surface of the lake is dotted with dozens of boats converging on Shang Kuan and the rocky shore by the Yu Tan Hui site, some deep laden with stone or coffin boards, others buried under a mass of tables and chairs, the movable properties of a restaurant or tea

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796 K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

769 One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor

527 Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure

788 Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date

not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share.

Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year,

April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are

• [764] held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields¹.

Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

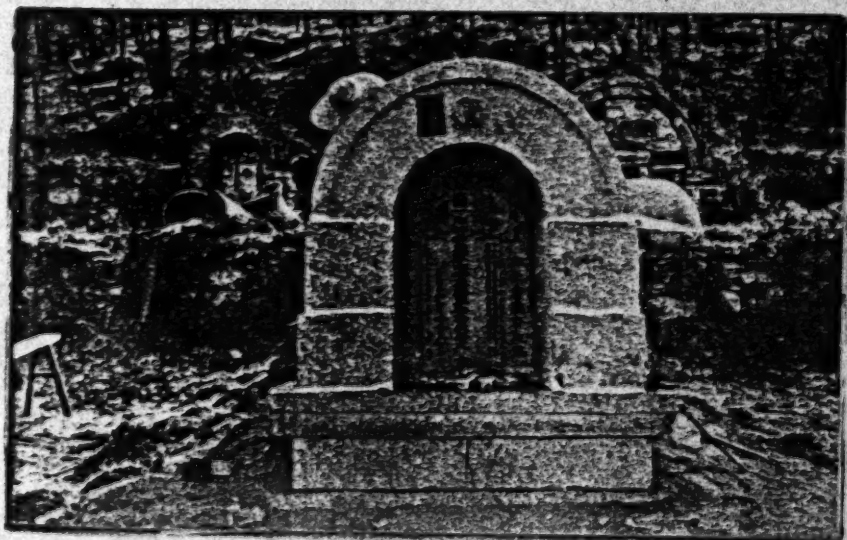
766 ¹ An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringes the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

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764



Paper horses prepared for a funeral.

Min Chia tomb with sacrificial offerings.



[Face p. 104]

(1) ANCESTOR WORSHIP

769 with the quiet pride with which a European might show his
527 house. A beautiful piece of work, look at the size of the granite stones, and the purity of the white marble tombstone, admire the choice and caligraphy of the inscription, and all this cost so much money!

764 Tombs, indeed play a very important part in the life of
531 the community. They are better built, and of more enduring materials, than the houses of the living, and they cost a great deal of money. The monument, made of dressed granite blocks quarried on the mountain, is of a pattern peculiar to Ta Li and its district. Usually about eight feet long and cylindrical in shape, it has a rounded top of fitted granite slabs and an arched front made of a single massive curved block. In the recess beneath this arch the white marble tombstone is fitted, closing what is apparently a tomb chamber. This is not so, however, for actually this stone structure is not the tomb itself, but a monument raised over the grave, which is only a deep trench excavated in the soil and lined with granite slabs. Thus what is visible, in spite of its suggestive shape, is only a false tomb, and is filled in with rubble stones. Carving is employed to adorn the arch and the marble slabs which support the tombstone. In early examples dating from the Ming dynasty *Chi lin* and dragons, or galloping horses, were the preferred motifs; to-day these are still popular, though less well executed, but the crossed flags of the Chinese Republic is a still more favoured design.

764 The inscriptions usually give the rank, if any, which the deceased bore in civil employment or in the army, and the age at death with the date. The name of the wife is also frequently found on the husbands' tomb as well as his own, and a pious inscription recording the elevation of the monument by the sons. A laudatory couplet offered by one distinguished man, and written by another, is added in the case of important personages. In the tomb illustrated, this couplet

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764 was given by the Generalissimo, General Chiang Kai-shek, and written by General Lung Yun, Governor of Yunnan, the deceased having been a military officer of rank.¹

Not every deceased member, even of a wealthy family has so elaborate a resting place. Those who do not survive to marry and leave children are not buried in the principal family graveyard, but on the lowest slopes, where their monuments are more simple and less enduring. Young children or babies are buried with little ceremony on pieces of vacant land near the city wall, and their graves are soon obliterated by weather and decay. Even the poor, however, try to raise money for a tomb which will remain, though they cannot afford dressed stone and must be content to have a monument of piled blocks of undressed granite. The cattle which graze on these slopes break down such tombs before long, and even the elaborate monuments of the wealthy of an earlier age are found in every state of ruin. Yet well built tombs of the fifteenth century, the Ming Dynasty, are still intact, their inscriptions legible and, when they have descendants living, repaired and maintained.

The earliest dated private tomb which I was able to locate had an inscription of the year A.D. 1426, and this was still in good repair. Such a tomb to-day would cost not less than 200 Silver dollars, and the least expense if dressed stone is used would be 50 Silver dollars, a heavy cost for the poorer classes.

766 Suicides, and criminals executed by the authorities, are not buried with the family. The former are interred at the base of the mountain on common land, and the latter are simply and crudely buried on the public fair ground outside the West Gate, where the low mounds which cover them are soon trodden down and obliterated. In accordance with

¹ This distinction is equivalent to a decoration; no doubt the Generalissimo has secretaries who compose these couplets for such purposes, as he can hardly have the leisure to do so himself.

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755 of curing lesser ailments with drugs and herbs which have real medicinal value, but many of their specifics are compounded of ingredients chosen for reasons more magical than medical, and if they have a curative effect, it must be attributed to the faith of the patient. Although the climate of Ta Li is healthy, being dry and free from malaria, the lack of a public health service permits infectious disease a 761 free run until the epidemic has spent its force. Consequently few families are free from sickness in the course of the year, and deaths are always to be expected. Inevitably the people, being accustomed to this prospect, are less affected by the untimely death of a relative than peoples who have come to expect long life as the natural thing and regard early decease as a tragic accident. The Min Chia adult of riper years always has his coffin bought and ready, and death when it comes is met with the accustomed preparations without greatly disorganising the life of the household.

- 764 The funeral is arranged for the first lucky day, determined by consulting the calendar in general use, in which such days are marked. The whole family at once puts on [292] mourning, the white costume, from headcloth to shoes, 765] which is traditional with the Chinese, and adopted, like most of the funeral rites, by the Min Chia. This costume is worn until after the funeral, and the headcloth and shoes are retained for one month after the death. Until after the funeral the family avoid sitting on chairs or benches, using only low stools close to the ground, and eat only off a low table, as a sign of grief and humility. The musicians, who should in fact be Buddhist priests, but usually in Ta Li are really laymen, are called in to chant sutras before the coffin, which is placed in the main guest hall in front of the altar of the ancestors. Here it remains for at least one day, or until the earliest auspicious day for the funeral, which will

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not be more than four or five days later at most. The Min⁷⁶⁴ Chia do not follow the custom which prevails in some parts of China of waiting a very long time, perhaps years, for an exceptionally auspicious day before interring the coffin. During these days before the funeral the makers of paper images have been hard at work preparing a number of paper horses, which are placed outside the main gate, and other figures both animal and human, as well as models of houses and sometimes boats, which are to be burned at the funeral for the use of the spirit in the afterworld.

Paper images, in all parts of modern China, have replaced for this purpose the clay figures found in ancient tombs, which are now well known as objects of art in Europe. Their use is to-day traditional for it is no longer customary to make everything that the spirit may be expected to require hereafter in paper, merely a selection of rather traditional objects, two horses, two human attendants (one male and one female), a house, and sometimes a boat. It is also customary to erect a high pole in the courtyard, or in the street outside the house, on top of which a paper heron is affixed. This custom is peculiar to Yunnan, but not to the Min Chia, for it is found in communities of Yunnanese Chinese such as at K'un Ming the provincial capital, and elsewhere. The heron or crane is a Chinese lucky bird, frequently represented as the messenger of the god of happiness, with a bundle of books, emblem of learning and official success, in the beak. But no Min Chia seemed to know why it should be associated with a funeral, and it would seem as if this custom had been merely imitated from the Chinese without its significance being understood. The whole funeral rite is indeed similar to that of the Chinese, and no traces of a different rite or other customs, which may once have prevailed, now exists.

On the morning of the day chosen for the funeral every-

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764 one related to the deceased arrives at the house, wearing that degree of mourning which their degree of kinship entails. All wear the white headcloth, even if they are guests not related to the family. The large and bulky catafalque, a litter with the poles wrapped in red cloth but decorated with white streamers and rosettes, for white is the colour of mourning, waits at the street door with the bearers hired for the day. The coffin is brought out and placed on it, followed by the nearest relatives, the chief mourner being the eldest son, who follows immediately behind the catafalque, walking with bowed back and dragging steps, supported on each side by two other relatives. The chief mourner must in this way display extreme grief, as if he could no longer walk alone. A large portrait of the deceased, to-day often an enlarged photograph, is carried before the catafalque, and the procession is headed by musicians, and followed by men carrying the paper images, other guests and mourners following behind.

In this way the procession winds about the streets of the city, not taking the most direct road to the west gate, which leads to the slopes of the mountain and the tombs. If the funeral starts from a village it usually proceeds straight to the mountain slopes, for the distance is two or three miles at least. The mourners and relatives not closely related usually turn back at the foot of the slopes in a city funeral, or at the end of the village in a country one, only the closer male relatives following to the grave itself, for the older women could in any case hardly make so long a walk, and the younger ones must not do more than their elders are able to do. At the grave, or sometimes at some point before it is reached, the procession halts, and the paper images are ceremonially burned, paper spirit money and incense sticks being burned at the same time. Then the interment takes place in the grave which has already been dug, and this is

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temporarily filled in and covered with stones until the permanent monument can be built over it. It is sometimes customary to sacrifice a cock at the grave, the bird having been brought there tied on to the coffin lid. This custom is widespread among the Yunnanese Chinese, but not universal with the Min Chia. It is another example of a Chinese custom not yet wholly adopted. 764

Those mourners who have not accompanied the funeral to the grave may return to the house where a meal is served to all, either in the courtyard of the house, or if it is too small, in a mat shed erected outside the street door. The cost of this entertainment for a large number of people, and that of the funeral ceremonies as a whole is a real burden on poorer families, and it is often said that the two great causes of debt are the costs of marrying many sons, and burying many relatives. The Min Chia funerals are, of course, much less elaborate than the great funerals seen in the large cities of China, where several hundred hired attendants line miles of street, but even so a succession of deaths in a short time can greatly impoverish a family, since a display on these occasions equal to, or beyond their means, is considered essential to their social standing.

It is sometimes said that the affectation of excessive grief 765 which custom requires conceals a real indifference, but it would be truer to recognise that the function of these elaborate displays is to occupy the mind and time of relatives who would otherwise be left unoccupied with their sad reflections. No doubt Min Chia relations are sometimes not very distressed at the decease of a domestic tyrant or objectionable sister-in-law, but between most members of the family there is usually the same affection as is found elsewhere, and since the circle of a woman's acquaintance is largely confined to relatives, the death of one of these is more likely to be a real loss than would be the case in com-

070 the light of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and The Lamb, (the slain Lamb) is the light thereof. An intelligent Chiang Christian reading this passage in the 21st chapter of the Book of Revelation has no need of any one to interpret it to him, he knows it after the manner born. The spiritual conceptions, the similes, the aspirations are his own. He understands perfectly how the light of the glory of God and of the Lamb is like unto a Stone, most precious, clear as crystal.

In the book of Zechariah where Joshua, the high priest, hears that Jehovah will bring forth His Servant the Branch and lay the Stone before Joshua when the iniquity of the land shall be removed in one day, the references for the common reader are very difficult to understand. It is not so with the Chiang. The Branch and the Stone are well known to him on his house-top, and the removal of iniquity in connection with them a periodic occurrence. From Genesis to Revelation the ritual of the White Religion of the Chiang bristles with points of similarity and great mutual illumination.

Take for instance Genesis, 31; 54, where it is said that Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread; and they did eat bread and tarried all night in the mount." What commentator can explain clearly the early usages that led him to do this? But we who have learnt how the Chiang sacrifice and tarry all night in the Mount have our difficulties cleared away. In their practices we see those of Genesis still preserved and observed. The Old Testament is a new book to us, comparatively, after we have sojourned for a time in the Chiang country. Their rocks, towers and fortresses give a vividness to many a Psalm and many a passage, that were previously half obscure to us.

796 Before the worshippers on the Mount separate the priest carefully divides the seed wheat between them, in which Je-Dsu had been planted in the likeness of death. The dividing in some parts is done by sowing. He scatters it over them like a sower when each one collects, what he can by lifting up a fold of his garment. The seed denotes the receiving of new life through death, i.e. by means of the sacrifice rendered to God. Each worshipper had taken to the grove four small white paper banners. Two of these are inserted in the fields and two taken home with the life seed, and preserved in a sacred receptacle called the *Choh-Ch'u*, which rests on a ledge in the corner of the main room of the house.

764 This sowing of seed takes place at marriages and at deaths.
586 It means re-creation and restoration . . . life beyond the tomb.
292 On the coffin a wooden bird typifies the flight of the soul to the Pure Land above. Heaven to them is the land of purity, therefore of gladness and brightness. The bride, after her marriage, lays aside her beautiful marriage attire, that she might wear it again
000 when she passes into this land of purity and of brightness. Among

times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a ⁸⁴⁴ feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove ⁸⁵¹ and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies. ¹⁶⁴ for the people know little about the principles of health and sanitation. ⁷⁵¹ On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting ⁷⁵⁹ these opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats. Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease. Smoke causes eye troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when ⁷⁵³ people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping ⁷⁶⁴ with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on, and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent ⁷⁶¹ years burial in graves has become customary in villages where ¹⁷⁷

764 Chinese influence is strong. In more remote places cremation is
177 still the most common method.

764 At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a flat stone near the place of
cremation. The coffin is placed on this stone while the relatives
perform a funeral dance. Then the coffin is carried to the place of
cremation while the priest chants the sacred songs. The relatives
weep while the coffin and the corpse are burnt to ashes. A bowl or
jar is broken and the fragments are thrown inside. Next morning,
after the fire has cooled down, the relatives come and gather the
ashes and deposit it in the large tomb near by.

764 At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a common grave which on the
349 outside looks much like a Chinese tomb. On the outside there is one
large opening or door, and inside there are two. These doors are
never closed. The cremation is done in two wooden sheds near by,
which are in a poor state of repair. The ashes of the men and boys
are placed on the right—on the left as one faces the outside door
from the inside—which is the place of honor, and the ashes of the
women and girls are deposited on the left. The ashes of a great
many people have been deposited here.

The crematory houses are small roofed buildings about ten feet
square. This is set on a stone base that rises about a foot from the
ground. The sides are not boarded up, but consist of small upright
posts a few inches apart, and large posts on the corners. Before
the cremation takes place, eight or more men lift the entire building
off its hinges and deposit it at one side. After the cremation it is
again set into place. One or more families use the same crematory
house, and there are several such houses near each village.

766 A baby is often not formally buried or cremated, but simply
covered up in a hole in the ground.

764 Near Ts'a To and Ho P'ing Chai small crematory houses,
varying in size according to the financial ability of the family, are
sometimes built and burnt with the coffin and the corpse inside.
There is a funeral dance, and the priest chants and performs his
sacred ceremony.

766 People who die violent and unnatural deaths—women who die
975 in childbirth, and men and women who fall over a cliff, are drowned,
are killed by wild animals, are poisoned to death or die by hanging,
become demons. These are cremated even in villages where burial
in tombs has become common, and the priest performs a ceremony
by which he entombs the demon inside a jar, after which it is taken

possible while turning the prayer wheel which contains the same formula. The prayer is also written on the prayer flags which are found beside every tent. The lama reads prayers for special purposes, as for example, healing the sick. At festivals laymen together with lamas repeat common prayers. 782

Lamaistic ideas are probably also essentially responsible for the strange funeral rites of the Fantzu. In the vicinity of each lamasery there are two different elevated burial sites, one for lamas and one for laymen. Immediately following death the naked corpse is tied up in a squatting position and covered with a new felt coat. A person buys the coat himself or is presented with it by his son or a close relative when he gets old. The corpse is tied together not by the relatives but by three men from the neighborhood. The relatives are not present when this is done. The bound corpse is laid either behind the curtain at the entrance to the tent or on the altar box. The next morning before daybreak the three neighbors who have tied the corpse together arrive, carry the corpse out of the tent and tie it on a horse or yak. They lead it thus to the burial place, taking along tea, tsamba, butter and mo-mo (bread). At the burial place they make a pile of yak dung about a foot high, and place on it a small portion of the food offerings which they burn as a sacrifice. The corpse is laid somewhat below the burnt offering. The greater portion of the food that has been brought along is eaten by the three men who have transported the corpse to the burial place, or else it is given to the beggars who have congregated at the site. One of the three men gets the felt coat in which the deceased was wrapped, as a reward. Only food offerings are made if the deceased is a male, and they consist of a little barley and oats which are placed beside the corpse. Women get cheap ornaments in addition, and these are laid beside the corpse. They are sometimes stolen by Chinese, but never by Fantzu. Only the three who have attended the corpse go to the burial place, and sometimes also beggars who are, however, very rare in the territory of the Fantzu. The corpse and the burnt offerings attract vultures, and it is usually only a few hours before they appear. The attendants remain at the burial place until the vultures have consumed the corpse, which as a rule happens very quickly, since many birds gather. (1) If the vultures do not devour 764

1. The alertness of the vultures is amazing. For days one may not see any at all or only one or two, whereas a sudden flock of them is usually a sure indication that a funeral is taking place.

- 764the corpse, /62/ attendants cut it up with a knife, severing the limbs
177 at the joints. Any kind of knife is used for this purpose; afterwards it is washed off a bit and used for other things. The various parts of the corpse are thrown in all directions so that they will be devoured by the vultures. The bones, such as skull, jaws, upper thigh bones, are left at the burial place. Many bones are disposed of by vultures.

While this is going on at the burial place, the relatives and lamas (usually only two of the latter) gather in the tent of mourning. Here the lamas read prayers. The family of the deceased prepares a large meal of which the lamas partake. The food consists of tsamba, butter, mo-mo and meat cooked with rice. After the meal tsamba and butter are divided among the relatives. The lamas get the better clothing of the deceased and they in turn give them to their relatives. The lamas continue to read prayers from breakfast until noon and even while people eat. Sometime after the death has occurred, the family gives butter, barley flour and money to the lamasery to which the lamas belong. Wealthy people give each lama \$14, a pound (chin) of butter and a bushel (ton) of barley flour. Poor people give each lama only 10 cents; very poor ones give nothing.

Five or six years after the day of mourning the same ceremonies are performed. This custom is perhaps based on the same ideas that underlie the widespread second burial in South China. No special mourning clothes are worn. The Fantzu do not join in official loud weeping as the Chinese do at their funerals; it is only at the funeral feast that they weep softly now and then "to be polite and to show one's sympathy."

A child's funeral does not differ from that of an adult.

If someone has died a violent death, no special customs are observed. Nor is there any difference in the case of suicide. However, this form of death seems to be rare. /63/ My interpreter knew of only two cases of suicides by hanging among the Mewu-Fantzu.

After a death has occurred the Fantzu request an incarnation (fu-yeh) to carry out a ceremony to insure the rebirth of the soul in a human being, not an animal ("scatter flowers rice," tsou hua mi). The fu-yeh strews grains of barley all over the tent to form flower-like figures (Tibetan: dzam-na). A pointed trivet is made of tsamba and is a symbol of the dead. It is also strewn with barley corn by the fu-yeh. A member of the family or a neighbor carries the symbol of the dead out of the tent and throws it away not far

from the tent. For this ceremony the fu-yeh is presented with two yaks, two sheep and the good clothing of the deceased, depending on the wealth of the relatives. Poor people often give only a small remuneration. 964
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In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there are three lamaseries, 792 the Old and the New Mewu Lamasery (Mewu-chiu-szu, Mewu-hsin-szu) and Lao-dö-ma, all of which are under the jurisdiction of the large Labrang Lamasery. Most of the lamas at these places come from among the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) However, there are also some

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 31, about every third man among the Fantzu is a lama.

Chinese lamas, mostly people who were impoverished as a result of the Mohammedan uprisings in the 17th and 21st years of the Republic (1928 and 1932). There are more Chinese among the lamas in He-tao farther down and in Labrang, and still more in Kumbum, the famous lamasery of western Tibet. According to my interpreter, Chinese lamas are superior to Tibetan lamas, probably because of the mere fact that they can read Chinese as well as Tibetan.

The lamaseries have their own pasturelands. They do not keep sheep, only yaks, which they have the young lamas tend. There are no regular taxes collected for the lamaseries, but they are provided with necessary food, most of which is donated at the temple festivals. If a family has a relative who is a lama, it provides him regularly with /64/ food. Surplus flour and butter are always sent to the lamasery by people who have a son there. Families connected with the lamaseries take turns defraying the expenses for the temple festivals and supplying the necessary food for these occasions. Lamas also often come to the tents to ask for food, especially butter. A typical picture of nomad life is to see a lama riding from tent to tent for this purpose. These lamas sometimes also come from lamaseries that do not belong to Mewu-Fantzu territory. An incarnation wearing a golden hat and a red silk sash usually rides at the head of the procession, followed by a few lamas in white hats and one or two mounted laymen who keep off the dogs. When such a group of riders stops in front of a tent the inmates come out, chain the dogs and kowtow to the incarnation, who blesses them for it by touching them with a piece of white cloth. This ceremony brings luck. I was under the impression that the people enjoyed giving the lama of their surplus butter.

Ch'iang

885 other, the tuan-kung chants liturgies as he sacrifices to all the gods in the house. In the sacrifice to the Sheep God, there is a special program. A chicken and a living she-goat are used during the sacrifice to the Sheep God. The tuan-kung must regard the sheep as a person and giving it a portion of the ancestor's gifts, wishes it prolific in production. After the sacrifice, the sheep must be fed until its natural death and must not be killed or sold. Special food (dry cabbage) is used to feed the sheep which is called "Sacred Sheep," or hitu-tzé-sawoo. Among other programs, the sacrifice to the God of Granary must be given by the mother of the youth to be capped. In the sacrifice to the White Stone God on the roof, the heart of the white sheep must be taken out and the black sheep must be killed. These all have their specific meanings which will be discussed in the conclusion.

• 764 The funeral ceremony of the Ch'iang is also very complicated. We will discuss here only one of its most characteristic scenes. After the death of a Ch'iang tribesman, a goat is often killed /25/ to guide the dead man. It is called la-par-sar-ma-tchi, or the guiding goat. The man who kills the goat must be a senior of the deceased. If the deceased is a male, a he-goat will be killed; if a female, a she-goat. The place for killing the goat is right in front of the corpse. At that moment, a prayer must first be said: "The goat is guiding you. What disease you died of will be shown on the body of the goat." After the prayer, the goat is killed. The first gush of blood is received in a bowl. Wheat straws are dipped into the blood. The goat's blood is spread on the palm of the corpse (left hand for male and right hand for female) to let the deceased know that the goat will act as his guide. Then the body of the goat is dissected to discover the cause of his death. The disease found in the goat signifies a corresponding disease in the man that causes his death. After the disease is confirmed, relatives begin to cry sorrowfully and regret that they have not known its cause earlier and have not given him the right treatment. The relatives are not allowed to eat the mutton of this goat.

Although this scene is quite strange, it is not unique. Among the Tchukchi tribe in Siberia, who practices funeral by exposure (discard), the corpse is cut open in the shape of a cross before the funeral to examine the cause of its death. If cremation is adopted, the corpse does not have to be cut open but the throat must be cut.

(10) The Azande (or niam-niam) people in Africa believe that if a

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10. Montandon,
- Traite d'éthnologie culturelle
- , p. 142.

person's death is caused by the attack of an evil spirit, the source of his disease can be found by dissecting and examining the corpse (11)

11. Levy-Brühl,
- Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive
- , p. 184.

Anthropologists call this practice "autopsia." Some other places in Africa, such as Libreville, Pahonius and Ngounie, have similar practices. (12) These tribes, however, directly dissect the corpse while

12. "Un enterrement chez les Ishagos," p. 138-9 (
- Bulletin de la société de recherches Congolaise
- , No. 8, 1928.)

the Ch'iang substitute the goat for the corpse. Whether the substitution of the goat for the corpse has a specific meaning or not will be discussed in the conclusion.

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Praying for Rain-- The Ch'iang live in mountains where geographical environment is perilous and difficult. In ancient times a traveler once said, "It worries even birds to pass through them. How can men do it!" Farms are along both sides of the stream or on slopes. Farming under such circumstances, as we can imagine, relies heavily upon rainfall. A summer without rain often makes the harvest hopeless. So praying for rain becomes a very serious business. It would take too much space to describe the various legends and stories about the drought and the rites of praying for rain in all places. Here we will introduce to our readers only one or two programs related to religious beliefs. The Ch'iang custom of praying for rain along the Tsa-ku-nao River in Li-fan is most interesting. For instance, whenever they have a long period of dry weather, the Ch'iang at Hsing-shang-liu-chai, Tseng-t'ou-san-chai and Chu-erh-san-chai as well as those at Niu-shan, Lo-shan, Kan-ch'i, Wen-shan, Chia-shan, Jo-ta and Hsi-shan must go to search the mountains, which they call ho-mu-mo-gee-sar-lir-rahge. The so-called "mountain search" is to prohibit the digging of medical herbs and the trapping of animals. The Ch'iang believe that the digging of angelica and other medical herbs destroys the treasure of the land and violates the law of regeneration. As to the prohibition of trapping animals, it is because the Fork God or horn-mo-tze (the God of Hunting symbolized by a fork) worshiped by hunters is a symbol of slaughter. He should be excluded during the days of difficulties so as to follow the will of Heaven. Once the order of "mountain searching" is published, each village will send several persons to

S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the 114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbër-ddër is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBËR-DDËR (THE CHINESE HA-PA

哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

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131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbër-ddër are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

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ST [184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

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ST [764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbër-ddër, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muan-bpö* d'a, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

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ST 1177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. [599] Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

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631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies